# Inter-Agency Cooperation: The New Security Paradigm in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

by

Colonel Jeffrey W. Jurasek United States Army



United States Army War College Class of 2012

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### USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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by

Colonel Jeffrey W. Jurasek United States Army

> William Flavin Project Adviser

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### **ABSTRACT**

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The security paradigm has changed. We no longer face a conventional threat that could match the military might of the United States. With globalization affecting all areas of the world, new threats have risen. These new threat takes the form of weak governments, lagging economies, religious extremists, and youth bulges<sup>1</sup>. To confront this new threat the United States must use all elements of its national power, and for this power to be used successfully, it must be coordinated and work in tandem to ensure unity of effort. The Military will assume new mission that involve not only defense, but development and diplomacy (3D) as well. The 3D's will be used to strengthen partner nation security in an attempt to face this new security threat before it escalates into another 9/11 event. Interagency cooperation will be critical as this new paradigm comes on line and all parties learn to understand each other's culture and how best to work together to achieve the desired effects/outcomes that will secure our national objectives, as we face this new security challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

# INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION: THE NEW SECURITY PARADIGM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

There is an understanding that there is a need for interagency cooperation and collaboration to ensure that all elements of the U.S. Government are consistent as to our foreign policy and to maximize unity of effort but before we can talk about the need for inter-agency cooperation and collaboration, we will need to discuss how this need came about. The word has changed. With the end of the cold war, old adversaries are now on friendly terms. Technological advancements in the inter-net and social media have connected people around the world in a way that has never before been seen. Globalization of the world is the new norm and countries are now interconnected both economically as well as politically. It is safe to say the globalization has "directly or indirectly influenced the politics, environment, geopolitics and economics of virtually every country in the world"<sup>2</sup>

With the cold war everything was held in order through the nation state. "The Cold War was primarily a drama of states confronting states, balancing states and aligning with states, and as a system, the cold war was balanced at the center by two super powers: the United States and the Soviet Union." Both super powers had stable governments and institutions that assisted other nation states in maintaining control of the populations. However, with globalization, the balancing of the two super powers is not there, but rather, globalization has its own systems that balance out the world, those being between nation-states, nation-states and global markets and individuals and nation states.<sup>4</sup> With the different forces balancing out the globalized world, developing states are finding it hard to maintain good governance and sustain adequate institutions,

to maintain control over their territories. It is this lack of control over large areas within a nation state that is "becoming safe havens for violent political actors" It is these violent political actors that are able to disrupt governments through political violence and through their actions is able to weaken a state and make it more vulnerable to civil war and insurgency.

The new threats facing the United States in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are many, but the one that stand out as the most critical if left unchecked, is trans-national threats. Transnational threats are "non-military threats that cross borders and either threaten the political and social integrity of a nation or the health of that nation's inhabitants." The new threat, that is the root enabler for terrorist and other international crimes, is the failed and failing states. It is these failed or failing states that are considered a national security issue for the United States. They are such a concern that they have been mentioned in the U.S. National Security Strategy since 1998<sup>8</sup>.

The problems associated with failed and failing states, which makes them a national security issues for the U.S. is that these states "provide safe havens for terrorists, organized crime, and other illicit groups; causing or exacerbating conflict, regional instability and humanitarian emergencies; and undermine efforts to promote democracy, good governance and economic stability." For the U.S. to address this problem effectively, we have adopted the "whole of Government Approach". This approach uses all the powers of the U.S. in consort, in an attempt to maximize the unity of effort against the enemies of the U.S. The whole of government approach was brought about with the understanding that, no one agency, can manage the threats of today on its own. Case in point is the piracy off the coast of Somalia. The counter piracy

effort involve the DoD as the lead on identifying and capturing pirates, while the State Department is addressing the causes that lead Somalis to piracy as a source of income. The Treasury Department is involved in tracking monies that have been paid to pirates by the ship owners for the release of their ships and crews, and the Justice department has been involved in finding solutions on how to prosecute the pirates once they are captured, which involves U.S. and other nation state actors. President Obama spelled out this whole of government approach in his 2010 National Security Strategy (NSS) of the United States. In the NSS it states that "To succeed, we must update, balance, and integrate all of the tools of American power and work with our allies and partners to do the same." The tools referred to by President Obama are: Defense, Diplomacy, Economic, Development, Homeland Security, Intelligence, Strategic Communications, The American People and the Private Sector.

# Military Engagements Other Then War

With the new threats to the United States in mind, the Department of Defense has adjusted its doctrine and adopted the Development, Diplomacy and Defense (3D) paradigm for addressing these new threats. This 3D paradigm requires the DoD to develop new ways of coordinating and cooperating with agencies, such as the Department of State, before, during and after any operation that may have parallel line of operations. The goal is to work in conjunction with, not against each other to maximize efforts and reduce costs.

The 3D paradigm is nested in the 2010 NSS and the whole of government approach in dealing with the threats facing the U.S. today. As the militaries are now faced with threats that are no longer Nation State legitimate militaries, in which they can use their technologically advanced equipment in which they could quickly meet and

defeat quickly. The military now has to adapt to a new ways of defeating the threats to the U.S. that requires more than the use of advanced weapon systems. The military's best bet now is to prevent a conflict before it happens. The 3D paradigm is best used in a non-kinetic environment, Phase Zero or shaping operations. These new type of operations involve cooperation from many actors in the geographic area of operation. These new operations involve assisting partner nations develop their capacity in governance, legitimacy, infrastructure, rule of law, defense, and professionalization to their militaries. The end result being that they would have the tools to solve their own problems before they escalate to a point that would involve a military confrontation. USAFRICOM and USSOUTHCOM are two unified commands that are using this 3D paradigm to assist in stabilizing countries that have weak governments and may pose a threat to the U.S. and its interests in the future. Somalia, Uganda, and Colombia are just a few countries where these operations are being conducted.

Some actors that are involved in the 3D operations are the State Department, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), international organizations, government and Non-government organizations. All of these actors, if working together, can accomplish more than if they act independently. For the military this inter-agency coordination and execution of 3D type operations takes place during the phase zero and is called shaping operations.

Within the whole of government 3-D paradigm, there are many agencies that are well suited to take the lead with these operations. The DoD is well manned and equipped to engage quickly and have the institutional knowledge to assist in developing a partner nations security forces. The State Department is already actively involved in

diplomacy and has the expertise to assist nations in democratization and building infrastructure through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) office which operates from U.S. Embassies around the world. OSD and USAID both have the technical capacity, but lack the man power to fully engage at the level needed to address the new threats facing the U.S. However, most 3D operations are taking place in non-combat zones, and as such, DoD would not be the lead agency but rather control would fall under the direction of the U.S. ambassador in the state in question The DoD components will be answering to civilian control and will assist in meeting the national security objectives of all parts of the executive branch of the U.S. Government. With these types on mission coordination and cooperation will be paramount for success. The current operations being carried out by the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa is an excellent example where this well orchestrated coordination and cooperation is proving successful for the U.S. and is a model that other unified commands within the DoD are looking to incorporate into their mission sets.

# Phase Zero / Shaping Operations

The definition of phase zero or shaping operations can be found in Joint Publication 5-0: Joint Operations Planning, 11 August 2011. In this publication it states that:

**Shape (Phase 0).** Joint and multinational operations—inclusive of normal and routine military activities—and various interagency activities are performed to dissuade or deter potential adversaries and to assure or solidify relationships with friends and allies. They are executed continuously with the intent to enhance international legitimacy and gain multinational cooperation in support of defined national strategic and strategic military objectives. They are designed to ensure success by shaping perceptions and influencing the behavior of both adversaries and partner nations, developing partner nation and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations, improving information

exchange and intelligence sharing, and providing US forces with peacetime and contingency access.<sup>12</sup>

Phase zero or shaping operations, to be effective, take a lot of coordination with many different actors. However the main lead in these types of operations, where they are employed to prevent conflict or assist in a humanitarian operation, is not the military, but as mentioned earlier is the U.S. ambassador. With the ambassador being the lead representative of the United States in a partner nation with internal security problems, he sets the ground rules that all DoD units operating within his country must follow.

Along with this, all commanders who are conducting phase zero / shaping operations in a country must ensure that their operations are paralleling and supporting U.S. government initiatives within the country. The country teams Mission Strategic Resource Plan (MSRP) spells out all the U.S. initiatives currently being carried out within any given country.

Before any phase zero military mission can begin, there is a large amount of coordination that has to be carried out to synchronies the unity of effort. The State Department, through their ambassadors sets the stage for U.S. involvement in any country. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has the lead on all development issues within any country and it is through the interaction between the ambassador and USAID representatives with a partner nation's government or ministries that an MSRP is put together. The military, although following the guidance and U.S. interests in an area, does have its own distinctive military purpose for being in an area. For a commander to be successful in a phase zero operation, he must continuously coordinate his mission and objectives with his state department counter parts to ensure he is within compliance with the MSRP, as well as, continue to

encourage and influence the open dialogue between all agencies with an interest in the area, something that is difficult at best.

A good example of the 3D or whole of government operation that has proven to be a role model of success, and it is something I have firsthand knowledge of is the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa. I was the commander of the  $402^{nd}$  Civil Affairs Battalion and was the commander of all Civil Affairs assets assigned to the task force, and saw firsthand how critical inter-agency coordination was for the success of our mission, as well as the difficulties associated with any coordination between two very different institutional cultures. The Area of operations for the CJTF-HOA included 18 nations however, all of the Civil Affairs teams (CAT) operated in only six of those nations to include, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and the Comoros Islands. The geographic size of the area my teams were operating in was about the size of the continental United States.

Each country posed its own unique challenges, and had its own requirements before the CJTF-HOA was granted access. There were two types of mission being conducted by the CJTF-HOA, those being: professional military to military training that was being conducted under the United States Code title 22 Foreign Relations and interaction, which covers military assistance. This military to military training was lead by the Department of State and generally fell within the African Contingency Operations and Assistance (ACODA) program. The military to military training was generally given to those forces that were being deployed to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). This military to military meet the definition found in Joint Publication 5-0:

Joint Operations planning, in that we were "developing partner nation and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations"<sup>13</sup>

The other mission set involving the CJTF-HOA was that of civil-military engagements and projects. Most of these civil-military engagements and projects were focused along those countries that bordered Somalia. Rear Admiral Brian L. Losey, the commander of the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa, states in his Prism article, Conflict Prevention in East Africa, the Indirect Approach, that civil-military engagements involved more than just U.S. CAT's but included partners, such as Non Governmental Organizations, USAID, DoS, International Organizations, as well and "focus on meeting basic human needs and on providing essential services through development projects that build trust and confidence between host nation government, military and populations vulnerable to the influence of extremist groups and their ideology"<sup>14</sup>

USAID is the lead agency on any development projects that the CJTF-HOA Civil Affairs Teams thought were justified or needed in any country. There was a substantial amount of coordination between the CA teams and their USAID director in each country before any project was nominated for funding and execution. For the CJTF-HOA, any project had to meet some basic criteria before it was brought to USAID for approval. That criterion was that the project had to meet a basic need for the population, such as a medical clinic, school or well. It had to be sustainable by the partner nation government or local village elders, and it had to be something that would not have been funded by USAID due to limited budge. If the project meets these criteria, it would be cleared through the Civil Affairs battalion commander, and then passed to the Staff of

the CJTF-HOA to see if it meet their military objectives and could be funded. When this was all done, final coordination was done with USAID and the Embassy to ensure the project fell within their MSRP guidelines and if so, they would intern coordinate with the partner nation government to ensure it was needed and that the respective ministry within the government could sustain the final project. There were some instances where additional approval was needed by the partner nations military to ensure continues access to an area for the duration of the project.

If a project was cleared through all the different parties, which constituted a tremendous coordination and cooperation effort by all parties concerned, construction could be scheduled within weeks if the dollar amount was below ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00). For larger amounts funding would take some time, but usually construction could begin within a year.

Other then development and military to military projects, the CJTF-HOA also conducted medical and veterinarian exercises in conjunction with partner nation medical institutions to assist in developing their capacity to provide those services to their populations. As CJTF-HOA provided training in basic medical and veterinarian services, to isolated civilian populations, we were giving the partner nation government the opportunity to build trust and confidence with their populations, something that was critical for the stability of the region, as many civilians who would be susceptible to violent extremist groups propaganda, were in many instances felt that their government didn't care about them and as such they had no loyalty to their government. For these operations, coordination between the CJTF-HOA, U.S. embassy and partner nation governments was critical. The State department is the lead agency in diplomacy, but

was not manned to take on any operation that would reach isolated villages, and it was through the CJTF-HOA medical exercises that these disenfranchised populations were introduced to their governments in a positive way. All concur that these operations were successful and was an excellent avenue for partner nation governments to engage with their populations in a way that was unknown until CJTF-HOA and the U.S. Government introduced the 3-D paradigm mission sets to the Horn of Africa.

Each country team had its own requirements for CAT to operate within their countries, which mostly fell in line with their published MSRP. However, due to the specific military purpose and geographic locations of the CAT's, there were some issue between the State Department, DoD and Non-governmental organizations (NGO), that continue to plague the CJTF-HOA till this day. Most of these issues are a product of the ingrained institutional cultures, and the difficulties of some military commanders accepting that others can assist them in accomplishing their mission, that are not military.

# Opposition to the Use of Military in Non-Military Operations

There is a wide array of opinions on the use of the military outside of their traditional role of combat. H. Allen Irish, in his paper titles "Peace Corps with Guns: Can the Military be a Tool of Development" states that "development activities are not a core military competency, and that there is neither a need for nor a comparative advantage to using military assets in that capacity." This single statement sums up the opposition to the use of military for anything other than combat. General Anthony Zinni (Ret.) states that "American officers lack the strong mix of non-combat skills needed in order to engage arrays of cultures and organizations."

Deborah Avant states in her article "Losing Control of the Profession through Outsourcing" that it's all a matter of money and that there is not enough soldiers to carry out missions that are not linked to their traditional combat role. She states that it is cheaper to outsource to private contractors to do missions that are not a part of the traditional military combat role. Some of the mission that are being passed to private contractors are all "non-core tasks such as training." <sup>17</sup> She points out that private military training in Africa as a case in point, where the African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA) is being carried out with a large role being provided to private contractors, who are successful in carrying out these tasks. She also states that with the shrinking military, it will have to rely on private contractors to carry out these non-traditional roles so that the U.S. can meet its foreign policy goals while the military focuses on training for its traditional combat roles.

I would agree with Deborah Avant, that there is some training being conducted in the Horn of Africa by contractors, but I do disagree that training is not a core task of the military. Special Operations Forces (SOF) have been training foreign militaries for a long time and has proven to be a valued asset available to the DoD when assisting other nations in developing their security forces, not only in Africa, but in Iraq and Afghanistan as well. To be frank, one could argue that training is what the military does the most, and as such has perfected many aspects of military training that can be easily passed to other militaries, without the bureaucratic limitations associated with private contractors.

With all the discussions about the military being used in non-military operations, there is a greater need for all parties to meet and discuss the future missions that the

military should be training for in the future. With the issues of transnational crime and the associated problems with failed and failing states and the rise of ungoverned spaces, there are more players in the foreign policy arena that are affected other then the military. There needs to be consensus from all parties, that are now involved with the national security of the United States, to include the State Department, the Department of the Treasury, USAID, Department of Justice, Department of Energy, Department of transportation, Department of Homeland Security, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Commerce and the Office of Director of National Intelligence. All of the above mentioned agencies and offices will need to be involved in providing input into the future uses and roles of the Department of Defense assets, outside of their traditional roles in combat. As the CJTF-HOA has proven, military forces can be incorporated into the cultures of other agencies and can work successfully towards meeting the national security objectives of the U.S.

There will be continued opposition, both within the DoD and from other agency partners and NGO's about the use of the military in non-traditional roles. However, with the shrinking budgets, all will be affected to some extent. As such, effective interagency coordination and cooperation will be essential for the United States to meet its national security objectives in the coming future. Only time will tell if all parties can reach a consensus as to the proper role of the military and how it can best be employed to meet the national security challenges we will face in the future. All one has to do is look at the successes of the CJTF-HOA to see how effective non-traditional military mission can be in furthering the national security objectives of the U.S. without firing a single shot.

# Militarization of Humanitarian Operations

The argument around the militarization of humanitarian operations comes from those who are engaged in this type of operations. The main critics of militaries being involved in humanitarian operations comes from non-governmental organizations (NGO). Karen Guttieri, in her article, "Humanitarian Space in Insecure Environments: A Shifting Paradigm", discusses the principals that all humanitarian actors follow to carry out their efforts in humanitarian assistance. Those principals are:

Humanity: The principle of humanity requires the preservation of the humanitarian nature of operations—i.e., to protect life and ease suffering.

Independence: The principle of independence implies independence from political as well as military actors.

Impartiality: Impartiality in principle requires that humanitarian action respond according to need, and without discrimination.

Neutrality: The principle of neutrality requires outside actors to avoid giving military or political advantage to any side over another.<sup>18</sup>

The above listed principals are pretty much straight forward, and give the humanitarian assistance organization a large amount of neutrality when they are distribute their assistance. This is something that is essential for these organizations to have to be effective in their efforts, without it there would be a degradation of their physical security.

When the military is conducting humanitarian operations, there is a perception that they are operating with other motives other then humanitarian or a "political signature" attached to their operations. This is something that they are aware of; as they use significant force protection measures to secure their immediate area and the soldiers conducting the humanitarian operation. Other then humanitarian assistance after a natural disaster, the United States Government does not deploy its military

forces just to help, but rather there must be something gained for the U.S. and its national security or national interest. This is something that all the NGO's are aware of and take into account when doing humanitarian missions located close to military units. De-militarization of the Military Mission

The issue associated with the de-militarizing of the military mission revolves around the idea of the security assistance. Though not a new idea or a foreign type mission for the Special Operations community, we have seen a rise in this type of mission since 9/11. The basics premise for the security assistance is where DoD and other interagency organizations work side by side to bring together all the elements of our national power. Security assistance is defined as:

Group of programs authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and the Arms Export Control Act of 1976, as amended, or other related statutes by which the United States provides defense articles, military training, and other defense-related services by grant, loan, credit, or cash sales in furtherance of national policies and objectives. Security assistance is an element of security cooperation funded and authorized by Department of State to be administered by Department of Defense/Defense Security Cooperation Agency. <sup>20</sup>

Because of the nature of security assistance DoD has been involved heavily in the defense related services not only in Iraq and Afghanistan, but other friendly nations throughout the world. Former Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, mentioned in an article titled "Helping others Defend Themselves" that the "military was designed to defeat other armies, navies and air forces, not advise, train, and equip them." This sums up the feeling from the DoD on how the military is being used outside of its traditional roll and placing them into training and assist projects that could be better served by civilian institutions outside of DoD. One would ask the question is this due to the old school department of defense leadership holding onto out dated ideas about the

threats facing the U.S. or is it that they cannot understand the changing world dynamics that will leave the U.S. vulnerable if we do not adapt to meet these new challenges?

Andrew Krepinevich states in his Article "Strategy for the Long Haul: An Army at the Crossroads" that soldiers are not diplomats but that they may be called upon to fill that role due to the limited size of some civilian agencies. He states,

The army and its sister services must be prepared to conduct training and advising of host nation militaries and where necessary, allied and partner militaries. If the Army's partners in the U.S. government's interagency element –e.g., the State Department, intelligence community, USAID – Prove unable to meet their obligations as partners in restoring stability, the Army must also be prepared to engage in operations to help restore the threatened state's governance, infrastructure and the rule of law.<sup>22</sup>

So the necessity of the U.S. Military to take on rolls other that are not focused on combat may justify a whole new skill set to meet these new challenges in the future.

Irregular warfare (IW) is the new buzz word that has put to rest some of the issues associated with the idea we are de-militarizing the military. IW involves using the military and other agency capabilities to limit an enemy's will, power or influence within a geographic area. Within the Quadrennial Roles and Missions Review Report, January 2009, irregular warfare is a core competencies and function of the Department of Defense and will expand beyond its war fighting mission to include "winning the support of the relevant populations, promoting friendly political authority, and eroding adversary control, influence and support" This can also be summed up as the core mission of the CJTF-HOA and its execution of the 3-D whole of government paradigm. As we become more focused on our new emerging missions within the irregular warfare arena, the mind set of those who would argue that we are de-militarizing the military will come to pass, for the simple reason, if successful, conflict will not come to pass, and peace will prevail.

# Implications for the Future

The implications for the future of interagency cooperation are written on the wall so to speak. The end of the Cold War has placed the U.S. military in a unique position. With the current U.S. military structure still in place, and after having fought two wars over the past ten years, the military is the most tactically trained operational force in the world. The Army has embraced Irregular warfare and phase zero operations as they allow the geographic combatant commanders the ability to expand their operations beyond traditional combat rolls to achieve their military objective. With the man power coming from the DoD, other agencies will need to adapt their internal cultures and organizations to work along with the military in this new environment of cooperation and coordination. Cooperation and coordination will be paramount to be successful over the challenges of the future and all agencies will have to change, much like the Army, to meet them head on.

### The Military and other Agencies

The military will have the greatest challenges to overcome to remain relevant in the future. There are several key areas that will have to be addresses by all Department of Defense services to be successful in their interagency cooperation efforts. The biggest obstacles were identified by the United States Government Accounting Office (GAO) in their testimony before the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives back in July of 2010. The subject of their brief was national security, interagency collaboration practices and challenges at DoD's Southern and African Commands. In this brief it was brought to light that there is a shortage of interagency personnel needed to embed into the command structure, due mainly on resourcing from

other government agencies. Another issue that is proving to be a big challenge for the military is the need for additional training to develop a "well trained workforce." As stated in the start of this paper, there is an understanding that there is a need for interagency collaboration to ensure that all elements of the U.S. Government are consistent as to our foreign policy and to maximize unity of effort. However, the GAO points out that DoD has dropped the ball on adequate training for military members in how to work with U.S. Embassies as well as cultural training specific to the geographic area the military is operating, Africa was named specifically, and additional language training. It is because of these shortfalls by the DoD that has led to "a lack of understanding of other agencies' cultures, processes and core capabilities can hamper U.S. national security partners ability to work together effectively." AFRICOM as well as SOUTHCOM have been working diligently to correct this shortfall in training of its staffs on interagency cultures and cooperation, and a more standardized training program should be forthcoming in the near future.

As we have seen in the implications for the military, other U.S. government agencies are grossly under manned and resourced to meet the national security threats of today. It is because of this shortfall in manning that DoD has stepped in to assist as they have large amounts of underutilized man power and are resourced more freely by congress that any other agency within the Government.

Agencies will have to begin restructuring their organizations to adequately man any positions that are available within a geographic combatant commands staff, as well as take the lead on training all DoD personnel on their agencies cultures and operations and how best to integrate DoD manpower effectively into their organizations to secure

unity of efforts. This will prove to be difficult and more than just an academic change as many personnel within other U.S. agencies have personal biases against those who wear uniforms and will no doubt push back on any integration with DoD.

There is a need for a "Central Coordinating Authority" for security cooperation to be successful within the interagency, as suggested by Randal Walsh in his," Security Cooperation and New Functional Command."<sup>26</sup> In his article Walsh states that USSOCOM would be the best choice for creating a functional combatant command dedicated to security assistance, which involves coordination within and between agencies within the U.S. Government. I will concur that there does need to be a central coordination authority for the way forward, and It would be the most practical use of our military forces if there was a military lead in the coordinating efforts, as they would make up the majority of the work force employed to counter the new security threats, and they have the man power and equipment to rapidly employ to meet any challenge. Couple these resources with a well coordinated inter-agency operation and success is assured.

### Conclusion

This paper has shown how the need for interagency cooperation and coordination are paramount for the United States to meet its national security as well as its foreign policy objectives. Without unity of effort, that combining all the all the national power of the U.S., we will not be able to address the new threats and emerging transnational environments that we are facing today.

We will need to rethink our current thoughts on the use of military forces, and may have to stand down our obsolete fighting force and reorganize it into a new construct that is adaptable and able to work alongside all of the inter-agencies within the U.S. Government. Where ever the seeds that threaten the U.S way of life are sown, we

will meet these new threats and challenges head on and will prevail over those who would try and do us harm, as I'm sure we will set our own personal biases aside and will fully integrate into a super agency that is fully coordinated and operates with great cooperation from all parties.

# **Endnotes**

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  - <sup>4</sup> Ibid., 13-14
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